

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T STATE 194184

EXDIS FOR AMB. YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT LONDON 12121 SENT ACTION SECSTATE JUL 31.

QUOTE: S E C R E T LONDON 12121

EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PDEV UK RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA; REPORT FROM RAMPHAL

TEXT: COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY GENERAL SONNY RAMPHAL HAS
ASKED THAT WE PASS THE FOLLOWING REPORT ON HIS RECENT
TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA TO SECRETARY VANCE. THE MESSAGE
IS A COPY OF HIS REPORT TO DAVID OWEN. RAMPHAL WILL BE
IN EDMONTON (CANADA) FOR THE NEXT TWO WEEKS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

" I THOUGHT YOU MIGHT WISH TO HAVE IN THE STRICTEST
CONFIDENCE THE FOLLOWING REFLECTIONS ON MY VISIT TO
ZAMBIA AND DISCUSSIONS WITH NKOMO AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA.

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1. THE DOMINANT ELEMENT IN THEIR ASSESSMENTS IS THE
GROWING ASCENDANCY OF THE GUERILLA OPERATIONS. I
BELIEVE THAT ONLY A SMALL PROPORTION OF ZAPU'S FORCES
(LESS THAN ONE-FOURTH) ARE SO FAR OPERATIONAL ACROSS
THE ZAMBESI. ONLY WITH THE RAINS WILL THE MAJORITY
BE COMMITTED. THAT PUSH JOSHUA BELIEVES WILL BE DE-
CISIVE, BUT HE IS CONSCIOUS OF THE IMMENSE PRICE TO

ZIMBABWE OF WHAT WOULD BE A RACIAL WAR. HE HOPES IT NEED NOT COME, BUT WILL NOT FLINCH FROM IT IF IT BECOMES THE ONLY WAY.

2. THERE IS ALREADY CUBAN INVOLVEMENT. THEY WERE ON HAND WHEN I VISITED JOSHUA'S RESIDENCE AND ZIMBABWE HOUSE. HE AND MUGABE HAVE NOW LEFT FOR THE 26 JULY CELEBRATIONS IN HAVANA. MANY ZAPU YOUNGSTERS (AND SWAPO'S) ARE ATTENDING THE YOUTH FESTIVAL. A FINAL PUSH TO SALISBURY WILL RELY HEAVILY ON SOVIET SUPPORT AND I BELIEVE THEIR PRICE WILL BE TO BE SEEN TO BE ZIMBABWE'S LIBERATORS THROUGH CUBAN PARTICIPATION. EVEN ASSUMING SUCCESS FOR YUGOSLAVIA IN BELGRADE THIS WEEK ON THE POLICY ISSUE FOR NON-ALIGNMENT, BELGRADE (LIKE KHARTOUM) WILL PROBABLY NOT CONSTITUTE A RESTRAINT ON CUBAN PARTICIPATION. IT IS A PRICE JOSHUA WILL HAVE TO PAY AND WHICH K.K. CANNOT FRUSTRATE.

3. THAT FINAL PUSH, THEREFORE, WILL GENERATE THE FIERCEST BLACK/WHITE AND EAST/WEST TENSIONS AND THE WEST WILL FIND ITSELF ON THE WRONG SIDE AND THE LOSING ONE. THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR, HOWEVER, IS THAT THIS IS NOT THE SCENARIO JOSHUA WANTS, STILL LESS K.K.. BUT TIME IS SHORT AND THE OPTIONS DIMINISH. THE WORLD, STILL LESS THE COMMONWEALTH, CANNOT AFFORD THE IMPLICATIONS OF THAT FINAL PUSH.

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4. GIVEN ALL THIS, JOSHUA HOPES EVEN NOW FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND WILL STILL ACCEPT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AS A FRAMEWORK: BUT ANYTHING LIKE PARITY WITH MUZOREWA ET. AL. IS NO LONGER NEGOTIABLE. HE IS THEREFORE STILL FOR ALL-PARTY TALKS BUT WILL EXPECT THEM TO ACKNOWLEDGE IN THEIR OUTCOME THE DOMINANT ROLE OF THE P.F. AS THE PARTY FORCING THE TRUCE.

5. JOSHUA, HOWEVER, (I BELIEVE GREATLY INFLUENCED BY K.K.) IS MUCH LESS BELLIGERENT TOWARDS THE BISHOP ET.AL. THAT I HAD EXPECTED. BUT IT IS THE MAGNANIMITY OF THE VICTOR. HE SPOKE TO ME WITH OBVIOUS SINCERITY OF THE NEED TO FIND WAYS OF SAVING FACE FOR THEM. YOU WILL KNOW OF HIS CONTACTS WITH INFLUENTIAL WHITES - WIDER THAN TODD'S CIRCLE. THERE ARE ALSO FEELERS FROM THE BISHOP. JOSHUA PLACES GREAT STORE IN THESE AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE THEM EVOLVE FURTHER BEFORE THE ALL PARTY TALKS. I OFFERED TO HELP IN ADVANCING THEM IF THEY FELT THERE WAS A ROLE I COULD PLAY. I BELIEVE THERE MAY BE A ROLE HERE FOR ANDY YOUNG ALSO.

6. IN ALL THIS HE IS CLEARLY CONCERNED TO SAVE HIS
PARTNERSHIP WITH MUGABE IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. HE RECOG-

NISES THE COMPLICATIONS OF CARRYING HIM, BUT IS NOT
DISPOSED TO DOING ANY SEPARATE DEALS, AT LEAST NOT AT
THIS STAGE. HE GENERALLY BEMOANS HIS FAILURE LAST
OCTOBER TO EFFECT THE MERGER WITH ZANU (WHICH HE BLAMES
ON DAR) BUT ACKNOWLEDGES THAT IT IS NOT NOW ON.
MUGABE REMAINS CAPTIVE TO TONGAGARA. IN THE END IT IS
ROBERT WHO MAY HAVE TO CHOOSE BUT AT GREAT DANGER.

7. A POSSIBLE WAY FORWARD IS THAT, WITH WHITE MORALE
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BREAKING, SMITH MAY FORCE HI INEFFECTUAL COLLEAGUES
INTO TALKING TERMS OF SETTLEMENT WITH THE P.F., BUT
WITH JOSHUA IN THE DRIVING SEAT. SINCE I BELIEVE THAT
A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IS NOW ONLY POSSIBLE WITH
JOSHUA IN A DOMINANT POSITION, IT WILL HELP IF THE
ALL-PARTY TALKS IN THEIR STRUCTURE ACKNOWLEDGE THE
P.F.'S SPECIAL ROLE FROM THE OUTSET. OF COURSE SMITH
HIMSELF MAY DO THIS BY DITCHING THE INTERNAL SETTLE-
MENT - ALTHOUGH I DOUBT IF THIS IS WHAT JOSHUA EXPECTS.

8. MY OWN HOPE IS THAT SMITH WILL SEE THE WISDOM AND
PRACTICALITY OF TAKING A BOLDER AND YET ALTOGETHER
MORE TIDY COURSE, THAT IS PACKING IN UDI, INCLUDING
THE INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT AND INVITING HMG TO TAKE
OVER. THERE MAY BE SOME HESITATIONS ABOUT THIS IN
LONDON; BUT I HOPE YOU WILL SEE ITS MANY ADVANTAGES
AND NOT TOO MANY COMPLICATIONS. IT WOULD NOT, I
BELIEVE, RULE OUT A UN ROLE. I INTEND FLYING THIS
KITE ON MY OWN RESPONSIBILITY IN OPENING THE GABORONE
TRADE FAIR ON FRIDAY MORNING." END TEXT.
UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

NNN

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